

1. Program Status

Civil society programs continue to grow and receive the largest share of DG resources (44 percent), an amount that has doubled in magnitude since 1993. Because of research and analysis initiated in the late 1990s, the Center is now providing more advanced state-of-the-art guidance in the design and implementation of programs in such areas as civic education, media development, advocacy approaches, labor union engagement, and the design of civil society strategies in general—although there continues to be a gap between what we now know based on experience and the application of this knowledge in field programs. In labor, increased resources continue to flow in support of anti-sweatshop and child labor eradication initiatives. The Center continued to provide civil society support to key countries, including **Indonesia** and **Nigeria**. G/DG has designed new cooperative agreements to support mission civil society programs, but as a consequence of protracted delays (over six months) encountered in securing grant and contract approvals in OP, these grants are just becoming available to missions.

2. Statement of Purpose

The capacity of civil society (including advocacy groups, media, and labor) to effectively advocate on behalf of political reform is a key element in contributing to successful democratic transitions, since civil society represents one important source of input as voices strive to be heard by governments, particularly in authoritarian states. The Center supports this program by developing, evaluating, and disseminating new and improved strategic approaches and methodologies for supporting an expansion of opportunities for civil society to have its voice heard. The program addresses the legal and regulatory environment for NGOs, labor, and the media; institutional capacity-building; effective advocacy techniques; and strengthening of democratic political culture through education of citizens on rights and responsibilities in a democracy. G/DG's work in the civil society area is carried out through the design of grants and contracts for use by field missions—linking knowledge gained in this area with easy procurement, development of new guidance for progress based on an analysis of existing programs, assistance to missions in carrying out DG assessments and designing programming strategies, and provision of other field support.

3. Key Results

G/DG provided assistance to a number of USG bodies during the reporting period—from assisting State through on-site technical assistance to its delegation to Indonesia and through provision of its expert opinion to its Advisory Committee on Labor Diplomacy, to TDY assistance to key countries such as **Indonesia**, **Nigeria**, and **Russia**. The Center continued its research into areas such as civil society strategies, civic education, DG-EG linkages, and advocacy, and it anticipates completing program guidance handbooks on each of these areas in the coming year.

Foreign Policy.

- The civil society team leader represented USAID on an inter-agency State-led design team to **Indonesia** in January 2000. The team drafted a three-year DG transition strategy which resulted in a major expansion of the DG elements of the mission program.
- The secretary of state's Advisory Committee on Labor Diplomacy, with representation from labor, business, academia, government, and the International Labor Organization, is examining the broad scope of State's labor function using operational and policy lenses. In September 2000, the committee released its first report, *A World of Decent Work: Labor Diplomacy for the New Century*. Given its significant worldwide investment in labor and through Center initiative, USAID became a valued participant in committee meetings. Its role helped to ensure an informed process that respected the contributions of the various organizational actors within the USG to the labor diplomacy function.
- G/DG has been an integral partner of USAID's working group on trade and development, bringing a new respect for internationally-recognized core labor standards to issues of privatization, market liberalization, and trade capacity building of the less developed countries. The focus of the Center's engagement on trade issues during this reporting period was expanding the internal base of knowledge on the linkages between trade and DG, particularly with regard to labor issues and the democratization of the beneficiaries of trade liberalization. This has included holding high-level seminars, drafting official Agency papers, contributing to briefing materials for USAID delegates to international trade and development meetings, and participating regularly in intra-Agency fora.
- The third accomplishment was the creation of a intra- and inter-agency group to coordinate and cooperation on programs designed to attack the worst forms of child labor. The civil society team, along with G/HCD, is now managing the coordination with Labor in designing and implementing child labor eradication programs around the globe. In particular, the civil society team's programs with ACILS, the Fair Labor Association, and the International Labor Rights Fund are now, to the extent feasible, closely coordinated with other USAID programs that address child labor and with Labor. In addition, the civil society team is facilitating the coordination between Labor and regional bureaus and missions that are engaged on the child labor issue. It is anticipated that this partnership will lead to the more efficient and effective use of USG resources devoted to the international child labor problem.

Technical Expertise. In the past several years, the Center initiated assessments in developing strategy and program guidelines for elements of the DG civil society portfolio, including an examination of USAID country strategies in civil society; media development; civic education; advocacy; trade union development; and DG and economic growth linkages. These topics were given high priority either because the Agency was devoting considerable resources in these areas or were potential candidates for increased resource flows. In both instances, it was felt that further knowledge was needed on appropriate objectives and practices in these areas of civil society programming. Much of the research and analytical work on these subjects is now completed, with findings and recommendations represented in a series of papers now being published and distributed to relevant audiences.

- **Civil Society Strategies.** Over the past two years, G/DG has undertaken an assessment of USAID strategies in several countries, gleaned Agency experience with supporting civil society as part of its DG portfolio. The basic civil society assistance design was crafted in the early 1990s, and, particularly given the increased flow of support to this area, it was time to review these approaches, to gauge how well they have worked, and to suggest modifications to them. In carrying out this assessment, G/DG conducted field studies in **Bolivia, El Salvador, Kenya, Mali, Mozambique, and the Philippines**. Several of these country reports are being published as G/DG Occasional Papers. A synthesis with specific program guidance will be published during the first half of calendar year 2001 and later published as DG guidance; a workshop is planned for the latter half of the year.
- **Media.** In 1997, the Center undertook an initiative to focus greater attention on media development, recognizing that the absence of a free and independent print and broadcast sector presented a major constraint on advancing democratic transitions and filling the gap created by USIA's absorption into State. In the past two years G/DG added staff with extensive media development experience, enabling the Center to undertake a desk and field review of lessons learned by USAID and donors in media development. Published in 1999, *The Role of Media in Democracy: A Strategic Approach* identifies the basic steps in designing a media strategy. The Center's enhanced expertise in media enabled it to offer over the past two years a one-day media training course at the DG training conference, with assistance from the Europe and Eurasia Bureau and G/PHN.
- **Civic Education.** By the mid-1990s, USAID was allocating some \$30 million annually to civic education initiatives; however, virtually no evidence was available regarding program impact. Accordingly, in 1997 G/DG launched a series of quantitative survey assessments focusing on impact with both adult programs and school-based efforts in the **Dominican Republic, Poland, and South Africa**. Results indicated a modest but significant impact among adult participants, with more mixed evidence for the school programs, but with a clear conclusion that, unless coupled with an environment in which the lessons of civic education could be put into practice, the returns on investment tend to be low. A technical synthesis of the impact studies was reviewed by outside experts at a G/DG-sponsored workshop in December 2000 and will be published as a G/DG Occasional Paper. Another upcoming occasional paper covers a broader analytical survey of illustrative Agency-sponsored initiatives in civic education. A synthesis of both papers is being published in 2001 as a G/DG Technical Publication on civic education strategies.
- **Labor.** In 2000, field studies were conducted in **Indonesia, Kenya, the Philippines, South Africa, Thailand, and Zimbabwe** to identify leading contributions of labor programs to USAID's DG, EG, and HIV/AIDS objectives. These studies, augmented by additional research, form the basis for technical guidance to missions, regional bureaus, and other USG agencies. Topics include elections, transitions to democratic governance, women's empowerment, workplace-based HIV/AIDS education and treatment, policy reforms, child labor, workforce development, and economic literacy. The intent of the guidance is to demonstrate how labor can become a more integral feature of DG strategies and programs and of the activities to be undertaken in the new labor grant.
- **DG-EG Linkages.** Several countries have established economic fora to bring together relevant actors from government and business, and sometimes labor and other civil

society constituencies to weigh the merits of various policy options, identify problems, air grievances, propose solutions, and attempt to forge consensus on how to implement economic reform. In 1999, G/DG undertook four field studies (**Ghana, South Africa, Uganda, and Zimbabwe**) to evaluate the effectiveness of these fora. A synthesis paper of the studies is being published now; it outlines what economic fora can do, how they do it, and what sorts of results they have produced. Overall, economic fora are important procedural innovations for reassuring stakeholders that they will have a voice in economic reform, but they are marginal contributors to macro-level political and economic restructuring. They have greater impact when political opening is already taking place, and the key determinant of their political and economic impact is the preference of political leaders to make them relevant or to sideline them. The main contributions of economic fora to democracy and governance are at a much more specific level—small gains in transparency and accountability, increases in the level of trust between participating stakeholders and government, expansion of government and civil society experience with cooperative decision making, increases in the public discourse on economic issues and educating government policy makers—all of which will take significant time to ripen into systemic change. The paper also provides additional background on the DG-EG connections and USAID's efforts to pursue those connections.

- **Advocacy.** Since the early 1990s, USAID has supported civil society organizations (CSOs) engaged in advocacy as part of its DG portfolio. When USAID first started supporting CSOs' advocacy efforts, there was little systematic information available about the field of advocacy or how to achieve desired results. Experience has now helped to define this emerging area of DG activity. In order to capture this experience the Center has prepared a handbook on advocacy for DG officers. Compiled in consultation with the top advocacy trainers, it distills the best practices and lessons learned in advocacy programming. The handbook focuses on the components of advocacy in order to promote USAID's use of it as a civil society tool and explains how to strategically incorporate advocacy into a mission's strategy and implement its subsequent programs. The handbook will be published in 2001.

Field Support. In addition to those missions mentioned above, G/DG staff was directly involved, both in the field and from Washington, in assisting missions in the development of DG strategies and assessments of the civil society environment.

- G/DG provided four weeks of TDY support to USAID/**Nigeria** to assist with an assessment of the mission's civil society program. It also provided essential program management backstopping support at a time when most of the mission staff was preparing for a POTUS visit.
- A TDY to **Namibia** enhanced the Center's ability to provide quality backstopping to the mission while it also brought attention to the need to improve the contribution of the Global Bureau's labor program to address HIV/AIDS and workforce development.
- G/DG assisted the **Indonesia** mission in developing a media strategy to support the country's democratic transition. This is one of the largest media programs outside of the E&E region.

- Center staff wrote the first draft RFA for independent print media development in **Russia** and assisted drafting of an RFA on information activities in the Central Asian Republics (CAR). A TDY to Russia to observe a newscast competition among regional television stations throughout the Russian Federation updated USAID/Russia about current trends in non-state regional TV in Russia. USAID/Russia's successful use of regional newscast competitions as a training mechanism was incorporated as an illustrative approach in the USAID/CAR draft RFA on information activities.
- The above-noted TDY to **Russia** also included participation in a conference on public broadcasting sponsored by the U.S. Consulate in St. Petersburg. The forum provided G/DG with information for a new section in the Center's planned updated version of its media strategies handbook on facilitating democratic transitions from state-controlled broadcasting to public TV and radio systems. G/DG also sent a short memorandum to USAID/**Kosovo** on how to support development of public broadcasting.
- Center IQCs provided rapid-response technical expertise to support civil society programs of missions and regional bureaus. This included an activity to enhance the capabilities of **Moroccan** NGO staff so that they could overcome their relative isolation from the general public and political decision-makers as well as successfully negotiate financial support from them. Administrative and management support to **Indonesia's** civil society strengthening program continued as the country transitions from its authoritarian past to participatory democracy. Training in a computerized financial management system was provided to **Palestinian** CSOs through June 2000.

Program Management/Direct Development Impact. During the rating period, two new IQCs were awarded. The bidding and evaluations of a civil society RFA were completed and submitted to OP in July 2000, but the two new agreements have only recently been awarded.

The American Center for International Labor Solidarity (ACILS) and its predecessor regional institutes have been significant partners in implementing programs for the last four decades. These programs have proven invaluable in helping USAID achieve its DG objectives, while also supporting economic growth. For instance, ACILS programs have supported the rights to freedom of association and speech in non-democratic countries throughout the world. They have also engaged in the fight for free and fair elections, the rule of law, and the rights of civil society around the globe. ACILS work with the free trade union movement in **Eastern Europe, Indonesia, and South Africa** was critical in pro-democracy movements in those regions. The recent ACILS electoral program in **Serbia**, for example, played a key role in the democratic election that ousted Milosevic. In addition to its traditional role in helping unions develop institutional capacity necessary to carry out pro-democracy work, ACILS programs now support new and important USAID objectives beyond democracy and governance, such as innovative HIV/AIDS programs, economic literacy education, advocacy for observance of labor standards, and women's leadership development.

Beyond specific programmatic objectives, ACILS programs have proven invaluable through its support for democratic principles. The programs have been effective vehicles for institutional governmental reforms—such as transparency and anti-corruption measures and increasing citizen access to justice. They have also facilitated the free flow and broad distribution of information on critical democracy and development issues, such as voter education, core labor standards, and HIV/AIDS prevention information. Finally, ACILS programs have proven very

effective at bringing disenfranchised citizens into the political and economic development process by providing a platform for the concerns of indigenous people, women, and children.

The quantitative indicators form part of the picture of ACILS' contribution. In 2000, the Solidarity Center conducted more than 1,000 USAID core-funded activities in 28 countries in Asia, Africa, and the Americas. These activities reached over 72,000 participants directly but, by these participants sharing their experiences with many times that number, their impact was multiple. E&E mission buy-ins enabled programs in an additional 10 countries to conduct 482 activities involving over 54,000 participants. Furthermore, ACILS' central strategy of building extensive, sustainable coalitions with other pro-democracy organizations created the opportunity for many other CSOs to benefit from the expertise and programs of ACILS.

But the quantitative measures do not fully capture the impact of the ACILS program. The examples below describe both the ACILS activities in various countries but, more importantly, the impact of those activities in advancing USAID democracy objectives.

- Nevavisnost, a **Serbian** trade union confederation supported by our ACILS grant, mounted an effective electoral campaign to support the democratic opposition in the September 2000 elections despite threats, harassment, and arrests. Nezavisnost held 56 public get-out-the-vote (GOTV) meetings attended by over 1,700 organizers. It co-sponsored 200 additional public GOTV events, helped train a cadre of election monitors, and deployed over 1,400 monitors on election day. Nevavisnost also conducted a concerted GOTV media campaign, broadcast messages on radio and TV, distributed hundreds of thousands of leaflets and brochures, and provided over 100,000 inserts in newspapers in 12 cities. This activity contributed significantly to Milosevic's defeat and helped move Serbia closer to true democratic governance.
- In **Zimbabwe**, the ACILS-supported trade union program provided the basis for a broad-based coalition of CSOs campaigning for democratic reforms. ACILS partner and its affiliates created an alternative (the Movement for Democratic Change) to the Mugabe-controlled political apparatus in order to free Zimbabwe from a one-party state. The movement successfully fought constitutional amendments that would have given Mugabe dictatorial powers, and it was able to elect 57 members of parliament, who countervail Mugabe's authoritarian rule. The coalition works with donor countries, international financial institutions, the UN, and other countries in the region to maintain pressure for democratic reforms.
- In **Ghana**, ACILS has supported the promotion of gender equity in the trade union movement. Participants in the program conducted a worker census in all 128 districts of Ghana. The census data will be used as the basis of the GTUC's social policy preparation. ACILS also contributed to building the capacity of the GTUC's Research Department to handle this and similar large-scale projects. Other workshop series resulted in important resolutions from participating unions, such as eight unions committed to seek changes to union constitutions, allowing greater participation of women; 12 unions committed to take advantage of joint empowerment programs offered by the Women's Department; 19 unions committed to seek to hire and train more female organizers and provide gender training to organizers; and 100 percent of participants reported they were ready to take leadership roles as shop stewards. Proof of the resulting elevation of genuine gender equity policies is the designation of the former head of the Women's Wing to the influential position of director of

international affairs and the election of a woman to the post of deputy chairperson. Furthermore, virtually all of the contracts negotiated since the inception of the grant now contain gender neutral language and prohibit discrimination based on sex. The programs in **Nigeria** and **Brazil** had similarly successful women's initiatives.

- In **Mozambique**, ACILS supported minimum wage campaigns (in areas not affected by floods). The campaign resulted in an increase in the minimum wage for all workers, including those who are not union members. This is the second time that workers have succeeded in convincing government of the necessity for wage increases as a result of their advocacy campaigns. As a result of ACILS' programs, workers have realized significant economic gains resulting from effective trade union education and training programs that have upgraded their negotiating skills.
- ACILS continued its support for the **Bangladesh** Independent Garment Workers Union Federation (BIGUF), a women's labor organization. In the past year BIGUF's membership, in a coalition with other NGOs, resulted in placing the garment workers' minimum wage issue on the agenda of the parliamentary labor standing committee. BIGUF was also invited to be a regular participant in the recently established parliamentary subcommittee on the garment sector. Factory management has also adopted BIGUF booklets on Bangladesh labor standards as guides to insure compliance with labor laws. Finally, the BIGUF has established a number of schools for former child garment workers that allow them to continue their education.
- In **Sri Lanka**, ACILS supported the labor movement in its advocacy for electoral law reform and enforcement. One result of this effort has been that the Institute for Human Rights linked 50 lawyers with government workers in pursuing cases before the Human Rights Commission of Sri Lanka alleging election law violations and political victimization during the election period. To date, 34 cases have been filed through this free legal aid program.
- In the **Philippines**, ACILS has supported the trade union movement as it undertakes a major advocacy campaign to improve the performance of the judicial system. The program resulted in a partnership between the Public Attorney's Office (PAO), the Commission on Human Rights, the Department of Interior and Local Government, and the lawyers' association as allies in the campaign to improve access to and administration of justice. The program, through its gender sensitivity training programs for PAO lawyers, family court judges, and other constituencies in Luzon and the Visayas, resulted in the reforms of gender based policies and procedures.
- ACILS support to **Brazil**'s confederation of trade unions has expanded their role as labor rights advocates as the country continues its process of economic modernization. Over the past year, the Confederacao General dos Trabalhadores member unions—with ACILS' technical assistance—continued to widen its members' access to new information and representation techniques, with a particular emphasis on leadership training. This has resulted in more effective representation of their members in the collective bargaining process.
- With ACILS' support, significant progress was made in promoting the right of workers to unionize in **Honduras**. Despite intimidating tactics by several businesses—sometimes abetted by local police—a transport workers strike from

October 2 to 4, 2000, resulted in a national effort to enforce collective bargaining legislation and three major victories were achieved. After a long conflict, the Honduran Brewery signed a collective bargaining agreement with the union. Likewise, one of the country's major cement producers recognized the workers' union and led to improved wages and benefits. The Honduran Seafarers Union successfully achieved recognition by two major Italian-based shipping firms as their sole labor contractors. Thus a precedent for other carriers represented in Honduras has been set. The union also negotiated a more liberal shore leave policy for its members away on voyages of three months or more. Similar success in union capacity building and representational success was achieved in **Kenya**.

- ACILS' representation in **Guatemala** provided technical assistance to three major unions, including health care workers, aimed at mitigating the spread of HIV/AIDS among its membership and the workforce at large. With a matching grant from Public Services International, the unions conducted 11 training programs resulting in over 80 union-member health care workers being recognized as qualified HIV/AIDS prevention promoters. These individuals symbolize organized labor's commitment to stopping the spread of the disease among the Guatemalan workers. During the past calendar year, the promoters reached over 5,000 workers with educational materials in interactive settings. The **South Africa** program has realized significant success in HIV/AIDS education among its union members and families.

For the first time, the Center's core labor program will be open to competition, as the current grant to ACILS will expire in September 2001. The labor RFA—the core funding for the next five years of global labor programs—was published for comment in January 2001. Issued as an RFA in April 2001, it is expected to be awarded in 2001. This new round of funding provides USAID with an opportunity to further examine the role of labor in international development and how labor can support USAID Mission objectives. We anticipate a new approach to labor funding more consistent with funding for other G/DG-supported program areas.

Since 1999, G/DG, in consultation with Labor and State/DRL, has managed anti-sweatshop programs conducted by ILRF and FLA. These programs respond to efforts by U.S. universities, apparel and footwear manufacturers, and labor and human rights NGOs to address the growing concerns about dangerous and inhumane conditions in factories producing apparel and footwear for U.S. consumers. The purpose of both programs is to identify the essential labor standards that should be observed in production of these goods and to ensure, through an independent labor-monitoring program, that the factories are complying with these standards.

The FLA is a consortium representing apparel and footwear manufacturers, U.S. universities that license names and logos with the manufacturers, and NGOs concerned about labor conditions in U.S. and foreign factories producing for the manufacturers. The parties' common interest is the eradication of sweatshop conditions in apparel and footwear factories worldwide. During its first 18 months, with Center support, the FLA has produced a code of conduct for its member companies, a set of monitoring guidelines used to measure compliance, and criteria for certifying independent monitoring organizations and companies.

The FLA has grown from a fledgling organization to one poised to implement factory monitoring on a global basis. Membership in the association has grown, expanding the potential scope of the program to enhancing the lives of millions of workers in the footwear and apparel industry worldwide. Participating companies have registered nearly 2,400 factories to be

monitored, and universities have reached out to thousands of licensees to promote responsible workplace conditions. During the next three years, thousands of factories will be inspected for FLA compliance and remedial measures will be initiated to correct any deficiencies.

The Center grant to ILRF is an essential piece of the USG anti-sweatshop program. ILRF is training NGOs in the knowledge and skills necessary to conduct independent monitoring intended to measure compliance with labor standards. ILRF has identified NGOs in the producing countries—initially, **Guatemala** and **Indonesia**—and builds monitoring capacity among a network of labor, human rights, academic, and women’s organizations. Support for this program is now entering its second and final year. The formal monitor-training curriculum will be completed by September 2001, and the field training in actual production facilities will be completed by year’s end. It is expected that the trained NGO monitors will be able to conduct independent monitoring for U.S. corporations affiliated with the FLA soon thereafter.

Already, the work of the FLA and ILRF is bearing fruit. The development of codes of conduct and independent monitors has sent a clear message to factory operators that there are international norms that must be respected and the means, through independent monitors, to determine compliance with those norms. Once fully implemented, the monitoring programs will help improve conditions for the millions of workers employed in the apparel and footwear industries worldwide.

4. *Performance and Prospects*

At its inception in 1995, the civil society team consisted of two USDHs and one RSSA. Small staff increments and subsequent turnover entailed giving priority attention to field service and grant management over advancing the technical agenda. However, increases in staff, beginning in 1999, allowed the team to move forward in implementing its technical agenda. As a consequence, a wide range of program guidance publications, based on research and analysis over the past several years, will be available for dissemination to donors, partners, and the development community at large; subjects include civic education, media, labor, civil society strategies, advocacy, and DG-EG linkages. During 2001, it is the intent of the Center to sponsor Washington-based workshops and training sessions at its annual workshop where the lessons learned and guidance contained in the papers can be vetted and transmitted for field application.

A number of new activities will be initiated in 2001. One project will look at DG assistance in conflict-prone and post-conflict settings, starting with assistance to civil society. The project will examine what we currently know about the repercussions of DG civil society assistance in the context of civil conflict and communal violence. The main product will be a technical publication geared toward helping DG officers think through the challenges and opportunities of working in conflict-prone environments and crafting appropriate packages of DG assistance that are based on knowledge gained from past experience.

A second project will look at how religion and democracy intersect. Given the prevalence of civil conflict with an explicitly religious dimension and the lack of democratic rule in countries with large, politicized religious communities, it is important to understand both the constructive and destructive roles that religion and religious organizations can play in new democracies, as well as the implications of non-sectarian government for democracy promotion. The emphasis will be on elaborating the types of initiatives that should be undertaken to build on the positive role that religious groups often play in supporting democratic reform and encouraging dialogue and tolerance across religious divides.

G/DG is also coordinating with the ANE Bureau to respond adequately to a congressional earmark for the funding of a journalist training program proposed by Internews and Western Kentucky University. A program grant is expected to be awarded in FY 2001.

5. *Principal Contractors, Grantees, or Agencies*

The Center has civil society IQCs with Creative Associates International and Management Systems International. Both IQC firms and their respective sub-contractors focus their services on the CSO capacity-building needs at the national, regional, and local levels and include design, implementation, and evaluation of activities. Illustrative activities include journalism training, provision of limited amounts of commodities (e.g., computers, ancillary equipment, and access to the Internet), and provision of small grants to professional associations and media outlets.

The Center recently awarded two leader with associate cooperative agreements for civil society strengthening to the Academy for Educational Development and Pact. These agreements will support activities for (1) establishing legal frameworks to promote and protect civil society; (2) increasing citizen participation in policy processes, implementation, and oversight of public institutions; (3) increasing the institutional and financial viability of CSOs; (4) enhancing the unencumbered flow of information through legal reinforcement, strengthening financial and management capacities of independent media and CSO media units; (5) strengthening democratic political culture and gender equity; and (6) supporting activities mitigating abusive labor conditions in factories exporting to U.S. consumer markets.

Program assistance to ACILS for the global labor program and to ILRF and FLA for the “no sweat” initiative are described in the preceding section. In media, program assistance to the Nation Institute has been completed, and a new agreement with Internews and Western Kentucky University is pending.